

# On nominal and verbal morphology in Harakmbut (Peruvian Amazon)

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## 1. Introduction

- Harakmbut is a language from the Peruvian Amazon, spoken in ‘native communities’ the departments of Madre de Dios and Cusco
- Tropical lowland climate
- Genetic affiliation:
  - Formerly classified as an Arawakan or Maipuran language by McQuown (1955) (see Hart 1963: 6) and Matteson (1972); but this has found little acceptance (Adelaar 2007: 39).
  - Wise (1999: 307) states that Harakmbut is commonly accepted to be a (single language) isolate (cf. WALS)
  - Some grammatical features are shared with Ese Eja (Tacanan family) (Pozzi-Escot 1998: 93), which is proposed to belong to the Guaporé-Mamoré linguistic area in southwest Brazil and eastern Bolivia, close to the border with Peru (Crevels & van der Voort 2008)
  - Adelaar (2000, 2007) proposes that it is genetically related to the Brazilian Katukina family (also included in Guaporé-Mamoré linguistic area), which may be further linked to Macro-Ge
- Relations within the Harakmbut group:
  - Harakmbut as a single language with dialectal variants (Helberg 1984, 1990), or a small language group or family consisting of distinct, related languages?
  - Seven ethno-linguistic groups: Amarakaeri, Wachipaeri, Arasaeri, Sapiteri, Kisambaeri, Pukieri and Toyeri (Gray 1996: 7-9)
- Anthropological facts (a detailed description is Gray 1996-1997)
  - The Harakmbut are basically hunters (bow & arrow, rifle), fishermen (lines, barbasco) and farmers (manioc, banana, water melon, etc.)
  - In the 1980s they also became involved in gold panning (Aikman 1998, 2009)
  - clan structure, shamanism
- Sociolinguistic facts:
  - Children acquire Harakmbut and Spanish almost simultaneously; however, most parents nowadays won’t speak Harakmbut to their children
  - Up to the age of +/- 45, bilingual speakers
  - Elderly people are mainly monolingual (Pozzi-Escot (1998: 95): more women than men)
  - In Shintuya, also speakers of Machiguenga (and Wachipaeri); speakers of Quechua and Yine live nearby (cf. Pozzi-Escot 1998: 94)
  - 1,000 Harakmbut speakers left (Moore 2007: 46): a ‘definitely endangered’ language (UNESCO)
- Previous linguistic work: focus on Amarakaeri (Hart 1963; Helberg 1984, 1990; Tripp 1976ab, 1995)
- Own work: two fieldwork stays in Puerto Luz, San José and Shintuya: Jul-Aug 2010, Aug-Sept 2011

## 2. Nominal morphology

### 2.1 Morphological template of the nominal head

Base	number	case		(focus)
Nominal base (may consist of several roots and affixes) (2)	-(o)mey PL <sup>T</sup> ( <sup>H</sup> : -mëy; +human) (1)	-a	NOM/ INS <sup>H,T</sup> (1), (10), (11),	-(a)nda INTF <sup>H</sup> (2), (3)
Proper names (2), (7)		-ta(h)	ACC <sup>H,T</sup> (1), (2), (18)	-yonda ‘only’ <sup>H,T</sup> (4), (10)
Personal pronouns (1), (5)		-en/-edn	GEN <sup>H,T</sup> (5)	-kon ‘also’ <sup>T</sup>
Interrogative pronouns (8)		-yo/ya/te	LOC <sup>H,T</sup> (5), (6), (22)-(24)	-chon ‘also’, ‘even’
Indefinite pronouns (17), (18)		-way	VOC (7)	
Fillers (6)		-ere	COM/INS <sup>H,T</sup> (8), (9)	
		-tewapa	BEN <sup>T</sup> (11)	
		-(o)ning	SIM (12), (13)	
		-apo	REAS (14), (15)	
		-mbayo	ABES (16)	
Combinations of suffixes: (1), (9)				

Table 1: Morphological template of the nominal head (<sup>H</sup>: Helberg (1984: 436-444); <sup>T</sup>: Tripp (1995: 194-200))

Orthographic conventions: <'>: glottal stop; <¨>: nasal vowel; underlined sounds carry word stress

- (1) Ndo-a opudn-omey-ta(h) on'-to-mba-pe-ap[(o)]-et  
1SG-NOM 2PL-PL-ACC 1<>2PL.DUB-SOC-VPL-eat-FUT-MOD  
'I will invite you all to eat (with me).' (Tripp 1995: 191; my glosses)
  - (2) Luis'-anda o-arak-me apetpet-ta  
Luis-INTF 3SG(>3).IND-kill-REC.DIR.EVD jaguar-ACC  
'Luis himself killed the jaguar.'
  - (3) Lupe-anda o'-teng-me mbiing-tone-nda  
Lupe-INTF 3SG>3.IND-cut-REC.DIR.EVD fish-big-INTF  
'Lupe herself cut the (whole) big fish.'
- Note: -(a)nda is also found on adjectives, functioning as a scalar degree modifier, cf. 'very'  
e.g. ndak-we ĩ-ě-ỹ vs. ndak-we-nda ĩ-ě-ỹ  
good-NEG 1SG(>3)-be-1.IND good-NEG-INTF 1SG(>3)-be-1.IND  
'I am ill.' 'I am very ill.'
- (4) Ndo-yonda taka-ndang-yo wa'-e-ndik ĩh-ě-ỹ (spontaneous speech)  
1SG-only Taca-path-LOC go-ITER(?)-POT 1SG(>3)-be-1.IND  
'Only I can walk on the path of the Tacas.'
  - (5) Or-edn wa'-a-te  
1PL-GEN NMLZ-speak-LOC  
'in our language' (note modification of the base: oro 'we' vs. or-edn 'our'; note the not strictly locative use of -te)
  - (6) O'-wa-me-ne sabado-ta äni-yo wëŷ-ök-yo (spontaneous speech)  
1PL.INCL(>3)-go-REC.DIR.EVD-IND Saturday-LOC FILLER-LOC water-hot-LOC  
'We went to (the place) Aguas Calientes ('Hot Springs') on Saturday.'
  - (7) Luis-way, ya'-chak!  
Luis-VOC 2SG(>3).IMP-come  
'Luis, come!'
  - (8) Mbe'-ere i-mba'a-Ø?  
Who-COM 2SG(>3)-work-DUB?  
'Who are you working with?'
  - (9) Kumeh-ere'-yonda o-mba-k-wek  
arrow-INS-only 3SG(>3).IND-VPL-SEPARATION-pierce  
'He pierced it with an arrow only.'
  - (10) Kuchiyo-a pomelo i-mba'-pe-po ih-mba-pi-teng-me-y  
Knife-INS grapefruit 1SG(>3)-VPL-eat-DEP 1SG(>3)-f.hand;leaf-f.small.stick-cut-REC.DIR.EVD-1IND  
'I cut my finger with a knife while I was eating a grapefruit.'
  - (11) Jonas-tewapa o-ning-ka wa-wedn gringo-a  
Jonas-BEN 3SG(>3).IND-BEN-make NMLZ-lie foreigner-NOM  
'The foreigner makes a bed for Jonas.' (note nominalization in wa-wedn)
  - (12) Luis wattone-nda ö'-ë Darío-ning  
Luis old-INTF 3SG(>3).IND-be Dario-SIM  
'Luis is as old as Dario.' (Tripp (1995: 198) notes the use of -(o)ning attaching to adjectives, adding the meaning of 'like')
  - (13) Hak-ning=pi (constructed example)  
house-SIM='ish'  
'something that looks like a house'
  - (14) Wambo o'-kot-me widn-apo  
boy 3SG(>3).IND-fall-REC.DIR.EVD stone-REAS  
'The boy fell because of a stone.'

- (15) mboerek on-mba-(a)rak-me wettone-apo  
 man 3PL(>3).IND-VPL-hit;kill-REC.DIR.EVD woman-REAS  
 'The men were fighting because of a woman.'
- (16) Hak-mbayo i'-ë-ÿ  
 house-ABES 1SG(>3)-be-1.IND  
 'I have no house; I am without a house'
- (17) o-machino-ika mbe'-ning ewe  
 3SG(>3).IND-sing-HAB anybody-SIM NEG  
 'She sings like nobody else.'
- (18) Mbe'-ta ih-chaway-i tamba-yo  
 Somebody-ACC 1SG(>3)-see-1.IND field-LOC  
 'I see someone in the field.'

## 2.2 Obligatoriness of NOM/ACC case markers

The use of the NOM/ACC case markers does not seem to be obligatory (cf. Tripp 1995: 195)

- Only occasional NOM marking of intransitive subjects
- No marking of A and O where there is hardly any confusion, e.g. (3), esp. with inanimate NPs in O-role
- Marking when A and O may be confused, e.g. (2), (19), or do not seem to be 'natural', e.g. with inanimate agents, e.g. (20)

- (19) Mbiwi-a o-arak-uy arakmbut-ta  
 snake-NOM 3SG(>3).IND-kill-DIST.PST.DIR.EVD person-ACC  
 'The snake ('s poison) killed the man.'
- (20) Kurudn-a o-arak-tuy ndang-ta  
 Thunder-NOM 3SG(>3).IND-kill-DIST.PST.INDIR.EVD path-LOC  
 'The thunder killed him on the path.'

## 2.3 Locus of marking

- Head- and dependent-marking at clause-level: grammatical relations are marked (optionally?) on the NPs and obligatorily on the verb
- marking of nominal head or last element of NP?, e.g. (21)

- (21) Mbe mboerek-ta i-pak-Ø? (\*mbe-ta mboerek)  
 Which man-ACC 2SG(>3)-want-DUB  
 'Which man do you love?'

## 2.4 Distribution of locative markers

- (22) Köso ö'-ë mesa-yo/-ya/-te  
 pot 3SG(>3).IND-be table-LOC  
 'The pot is on the table.' (contact on surface)
- (23) Aypo ö'-ë köso-yo/-ya/-te  
 food 3SG(>3).IND-be pot-LOC  
 'The food is in the pot.' (object in container)
- (24) Wambo o-kot-me Colorado-yo/-ya/\*-te  
 boy 3SG(>3).IND-fall-REC.DIR.EVD Colorado-LOC  
 'The boy fell into the Colorado river.' (direction)

- -yo/-ya can be used to indicate both direction and location
- -te cannot be used to indicate direction

## 2.5 Derivational morphology: nominalization

Wa-+verb+-eri: person who engages in the action designated by the verb, cf. (25)

- (25) Wa-yorok-eri ö'-ë wa-ma-nö-kot-eri  
 NMLZ-dream-AG.NMLZ 3SG(>3).IND-be NMLZ-VPL-vital.centre-fall-AG.NMLZ  
 'The dreamer is a person who knows many things.'

Wa-+verb: thing that is used in the action designated by the verb, cf. (5), (11), (26)

(26) Kate=pi                      wa-ka                      hak  
something='ish'      NMLZ-make      house  
'something to make a house with'

### 3. Verbal morphology

#### 3.1 Morphological template of the verb (see Table 2)

#### 3.2 Mood

- Harakmbut distinguishes between three mood types: indicative, dubitative and imperative mood, each of which has a distinct set of argument markers (prefixes, sometimes combined with suffixes) (see 3.3).
- Functional distribution of mood types:
  - Indicative: declarative clauses (not epistemically modalized)
  - Dubitative: interrogative clauses; epistemically modalized declarative clauses (e.g. verbs marked by suffix *-et* (cf. (1), (27)), or *-ipot*)

(27) i-wek-m(e)-et=pi                                      wakuchipo  
1SG(>3).DUB-pierce-REC.DIR.EVD-MOD='ish'      upper.leg  
'Maybe I pierced it in the upper leg.'

- Imperative (including hortative and jussive): in commands, requests, and a set of dependent clauses (e.g. complement clauses of manipulative verbs)
  - Interaction between mood and aspectual system proposed by Helberg (1984: 275):
    - Indicative ("generic mood"): durative aspect
    - Dubitative ("possible mood"): neutral with regard to aspect
    - Imperative ("neutral between indicative and imperative"): perfective aspect
- Tripp (1995: 202-215), by contrast, does not posit any correlations between the mood types and aspectual distinctions.

#### 3.3 Argument encoding

- Harakmbut shows considerable pragmatic skewing in 1<>2 pronominal combinations, corresponding to the cross-linguistically attested tendency to avoid transparent 1<>2 combinations, which are pragmatically sensitive (cf. Heath 1991, 1998)
- Interaction between 1<>2 skewing and mood categories (also tense & aspect categories?)
- Person hierarchy effects: {1, 2} > 3
- 2-slot system: prefix + suffix

##### (a) indicative and dubitative mood (basic system) (Tables 3 and 4):

- Indicative vs. dubitative mood is marked by the presence or absence of suffixes (except for 3(>3))
- Local configurations: interaction between speech act participants (1<>2):
  - is encoded in the prefix slot only
  - neutralization of number marking of 1<sup>st</sup> person in 1<2 and 2>1 (strategy 4 in Heath 1998; in Kalispel neutralization of number marking of 2<sup>nd</sup> person, Vogt 1940: 25-26)
  - 1<>2 combinations are expressed by unanalysable portmanteaus (cf. Caddo, Lakota, Coos, Klamath, Acoma, Zoque of Copainalá; strategy 6 in Heath 1998): 1<>2SG vs. 1<>2PL (so, just 2 forms for 8 combinations)
  - homophony of the 1<>2SG form with 1PL(>3) inclusive form (prefix + suffix) (cf. Southern Sierra Miwok, Zoque of Francisco León, Carib; strategy 8 in Heath 1998)
  - disambiguation possible through case-marked free pronouns
- Mixed configurations (3<> {1, 2}):
  - {1, 2} >3: only subject is encoded, marked for number (prefix + suffix); A-markers = S-markers
  - 3> {1, 2}: portmanteau forms cross-referencing subject and object
    - 1SG > {1PL, 2} hierarchy: 1SG object gets distinct prefixes with all person subject categories
    - 3> {1, 2}: Person neutralization of plural O-arguments; number neutralization of A-arguments with plural O-arguments
    - 3SG> {1, 2}: Person neutralization of O-arguments
    - disambiguation possible through case-marked free pronouns

- Non-local configurations ( $3 < > 3$ ):
    - only subject is encoded, marked for number (prefix); A-marker = S-marker
- (b) imperative mood: different subsystem concerning  $\{2, 3\} > 1$  within basic system (Table 5)
- person neutralization of A-arguments in prefix slot ( $2 > 1 = 3 > 1$ ) (cf. Biloxi, Karuk, Zoque of Francisco León; strategy 5 in Heath 1998)
  - person category of A is signalled in suffix slot (1: -i/-y; 2: Ø; 3: -e)
  - neutralization of number marking of A-arguments for  $2 > 1PL$  and  $3 > 1PL$  (homophony)
    - ➔ also pragmatic skewing in  $1 < > 2$  combinations, but  $2 = 3 > 1$  in prefix slot as a different strategy for the imperative mood
  - $\{1, 3\} > 2$ : same prefixes as in the indicative and dubitative mood
  - $\{1, 2, 3\} > 3$ : distinct set of prefixes, different from indicative and dubitative mood; only subject is encoded, marked for number (prefix); A-markers = S-markers
- Marking of beneficiary: (optional) prefix *ning-* (same form as the similative marker (e.g. (12)), cf. Creissels 2011)
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- (28) i'-pak-me-y                      apik  
 1SG(>3)-want-REC.DIR.EVD-1.IND    sugar.cane  
 'I wanted sugarcane'

(29) On o-ning-to-chak-me-ne                  purak  
 2SG 1<>2SG-BEN-SOC-come-REC-IND    cacique  
 'You brought me a cacique (type of passerine bird).'

(30) ken-a men-tuk-tuk-me-ne               ut-anda  
 3-NOM 3PL>1SG-hit-hit-REC-IND       fierce-INTF  
 'They hit me severely.'

(31) Kate yand-a ken?  
 What 3PL.DUB-say 3  
 'what are they saying?'

(32) Oro kate o'-pak-Ø?  
 1PL what 1PL(>3)-want-DUB  
 'What do we want?'

(33) mbe-chaway-Ø!  
 2/3SG>1SG-see-2.IMP  
 'Look at me!'

(34) Mbo'-yok-Ø                      siro!  
 2/3>1.IMP-give-2.IMP machete  
 'Give us the machete!'

(35) Ka'-arak-e'!  
 3SG(>3).IMP-kill-3.IMP  
 'He must kill it/him/her!'

(36) On-a i-ma-ning-to-wa-me-te(\*-ne)                  waknda ken-tewapa  
 2SG-NOM 2SG(>3)-VPL-BEN-SOC-go-REC-INDIR.EVD egg 3-BEN  
 'You (sg) took along eggs for them.'

IND	1SG.O	1PL.O	2SG.O	2PL.O	3SG/PL.O or Intransitive V
1SG.A	—	—	o'-/o-...-ne 1<>2SG -...-IND	on-...-ne 1<>2PL -...-IND	i'/ih-...-i/-y 1SG(>3)-...-1.IND
1PL.A	—	—	o-...-ne 1<>2SG -...-IND	on-...-ne (Tripp) 1<>2PL -...-IND	o'-...-i/-y 1PL.EXCL(>3)-...-1.IND o'-...-ne 1PL.INCL(>3)-...-IND
2SG.A	o-...-ne 1<>2SG -...-IND	o'-...-ne 1<>2SG -...-IND	—	—	i'-...-ne 2SG(>3)-...-IND
2PL.A	on-...-ne 1<>2PL -...-IND	on-...-ne (Tripp) 1<>2PL -...-IND	—	—	mbo'/mo-...-ne 2PL(>3)-...-IND
3SG.A	mbe'-/me-...-ne 3SG>1/2SG-...-IND	mbo-/mo-...-ne (Tripp) 3>1/2PL-...-IND	mbe-/ mbe'-...-ne 3SG>1/2SG-...-IND	mbo'-/mo'-...-ne (Tripp) 3>1/2PL-...-IND	o'-... 3SG(>3).IND-
3PL.A	men-...-ne 3PL>1SG-...-IND	mbo'-/mo-...-ne 3>1/2PL-...-IND	mbo-...-ne 3PL>2SG-...-IND	mbo-/mo-...-ne 3>1/2PL-...-IND	on/ond-... 3PL(>3).IND-

DUB	1SG.O	1PL.O	2SG.O	2PL.O	3SG/PL.O or Intransitive V
1SG.A	—	—	o-...-Ø 1<>2SG-...-DUB	on-...-Ø (Tripp) 1<>2PL-...-DUB	i'/ih-...-Ø 1SG(>3) -...-DUB
1PL.A	—	—	o-...-Ø 1<>2SG-...-DUB	on-...-Ø (Tripp) 1<>2PL-...-DUB	o'-...-Ø 1PL(>3) -...-DUB
2SG.A	o-...-Ø 1<>2SG-...-DUB	o-...-Ø 1<>2SG-...-DUB	—	—	i'-...-Ø 2SG(>3)-...-DUB
2PL.A	on-...-Ø 1<>2PL-...-DUB	on-...-Ø 1<>2PL-...-DUB	—	—	mbo'/mo-...-Ø 2PL(>3) -...-DUB
3SG.A	mbe'-/me'-...-Ø 3SG>1/2SG-...-DUB	mbo'-/mo'-...-Ø (Tripp) 3>1/2PL-...-DUB	mbe'-/me'-...-Ø 3SG>1/2SG-...-DUB	mbo'-/mo'-...-Ø 3>1/2PL-...-DUB	a'/ya'-... 3SG(>3).DUB-...
3PL.A	men-...-Ø 3PL>1SG-...-DUB	mbo'-/mo'-...-Ø (Tripp) 3>1/2PL-...-DUB	mbo'-/mo'-...-Ø (Tripp) 3PL>2SG-...-DUB	mbo'-/mo'-...-Ø 3>1/2PL-...-DUB	an/and/yan/yand-... 3PL(>3).DUB-...

IMP	1SG.O	1PL.O	2SG.O	2PL.O	3SG/PL.O or Intransitive V
1SG.A	—	—	o-...y /-i 1>2SG-...-1.IMP	on-...y /-i (Tripp) 1>2PL-...-1.IMP	a'/a-...-i/-y (Tripp) 1SG(>3).IMP-...-1.IMP
1PL.A	—	—	o-...y /-i 1>2SG-...-1.IMP	on-...y /-i 1>2PL-...-1.IMP	mbo-/mo-...-Ø 1DU.IMP- mon-...-Ø 1PL.IMP-
2SG.A	mbe-/mbe'-/me-...-Ø 2/3SG>1SG-...-2.IMP	men-/mbo-/mo-...-Ø (Tripp) 2/3>1.IMP-...-2.IMP	—	—	a-/ya-...-Ø 2SG(>3).IMP-
2PL.A	<b>men</b> -/mbo-/mo-...-Ø (Tripp) 2/3>1.IMP-...-2.IMP	<b>men</b> -/mbo-/mo-...-Ø (Tripp) 2/3>1.IMP-...-2.IMP	—	—	an-/yan-...-Ø 2PL(>3).IMP-
3SG.A	mbe-/mbe'-/me-...-e (Tripp) 2/3SG>1/2SG-...-3.IMP	<b>men</b> -/mbo-/mo-...-e (Tripp) 2/3>1.IMP-...-3.IMP	mbe-/me-...-e 2/3SG>1/2SG-...-3.IMP	<b>mbo</b> '-/mo'-...-e (Tripp) 3>2.IMP-...3.IMP	ka'-/ka-...-e 3SG(>3).IMP-...-3.IMP
3PL.A	<b>men</b> -/mbo-/mo-...-e (Tripp) 2/3>1.IMP-...-3.IMP	men-/mbo-/mo-...-e 2/3>1.IMP-...-3.IMP	mbo-/mo-...-e 3>2.IMP-...3.IMP	mbo'-/mo'-...-e (Tripp) 3>2.IMP-...3.IMP	kan-/kan'-...-e 3PL(>3).IMP-...-3.IMP

### 3.4 Derivation: valency-increasing morphology (4 prefixes, 1 suffix)

### 3.4.1 Sociative (causation)/comitative marker *to-* (cf. Tripp 1995: 204)

- Sociative causation: the causer not only makes the causee perform a particular action, but also participates in it (to varying degrees) (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 147-153); cross-linguistically rare, but common in languages of SW Amazonia (Guillaume & Rose 2010)
- Syncretism of sociative causative (37) & the applicative function of introducing a comitative argument (38)

(37) o-to-kudn-tuy                                  keme   münëyö   ken-en   hak-yo  
 3SG(>3).IND-SOC-enter-DIST.PST.INDIR.EVD   tapir   lady   3-GEN   house-LOC  
 ‘The tapir lady showed him how he had to enter into her (parents’) house.’ (made him enter by entering first) (Patiachi Tayori 2008: 16; my glosses)

(38) o-to-ket                      wa-yorok-eri-ere  
3SG(>3).IND-SOC-run    NMLZ-dream-AG.NMLZ  
'He was running with the dreamer.'

### 3.4.2 External possession marker *ta-* (cf. Tripp 1995: 204)

- (39) O-**ta**-mba-to-chak-me-ne e-mamboya  
 1<>2SG-POSS-f.hand;leaf-SOC-come-REC.DIR.EDV-IND NMLZ-photograph  
 'I have brought your pictures.'
- (40) mbe-**ta**-k-puk-on-ne amaka  
 3SG>1/2SG-POSS-SEPARATION-break-MOM-IND hammock  
 'My hammock is getting torn.'

### 3.4.3 Applicative marker: do something to a person *on-/n-*

- (41) Kate    i-ka-me-∅    i'ken       sik-yo'-en?  
What     2SG(<3>-do-REC.DIR.EVD-DUB   yesterday dark-LOC-GEN  
'What did you do yesterday morning?'
- (42) Kate    i-n-ka-me-∅    abuela-ta                      sikyo?  
What     2SG(<3>-APPL-do-REC.DIR.EVD-DUB   grandmother-ACC   dark-LOC  
'What did you do to grandmother in the evening?'

#### 3.4.4 Applicative marker: person as Goal *wa-*

- (43) Luis-en            mba-yo            ih-wa-y  
Luis-GEN    residence-LOC    1SG(>3)-go-1.IND  
'I go to Luis's place'
- (44) Luis-ta            ih-**wa**-wa-y  
Luis-ACC    1SG(>3)-APPL-go-1.IND  
'I am going to visit Luis.'

### 3.4.5 Transitive/causation marker *-a* (suffix, second slot after base)

- (45) i-mba-ot-ne  
2SG(>3)-VPL-dress-IND  
'You are getting dressed.' (agentive S)
- (46) i-mba-ot-a-ne  
2SG(>3)-VPL-dress-TRANS-IND baby-ACC  
'You are dressing the baby.' (A (=S) + O)
- Cf. (47) Wa-shi-po o-tay  
NMLZ-skin-f.round 3SG(>3).IND-sleep  
'The child is sleeping.'
- (48) Nang o-tay-a wa-shi-po-ta  
mother 3SG(>3).IND-sleep-TRANS NMLZ-skin-f.round-ACC  
'The mother puts the child to bed.' (A (≠S) + O (=S); causative meaning)
- Versus (49) i'-koyo-y  
1SG(>3).IND-wash-1.IND  
'I am washing myself.' (agentive S)
- (50) i'-koyo-y chinon-ta  
1SG(>3).IND-wash-1.IND baby-ACC  
'I am washing the baby.' (A (=S) + O) (but no extra morphology!)

- Note that both ‘dress’ and ‘wash’ belong to the same semantic class of ‘middle’ or ‘reflexive’ verbs (cf. Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002: 145-147)

### 3.5 Incorporation of bodyparts and shape morphemes (pre-base slot)

- Bodypart nouns are incorporated without nominalizer prefix *wa-*; e.g. *wa-mba-pi* ('finger') in (10) and *wa-ku* ('head') in (51)

(51) Mbe-**ku**-chj-kot-uy-ne apoare'-a tamba-ya  
 3SG>1/2SG-head-DOWN-fall-DIST.PST.DIR.EVD-IND papaya-NOM field-LOC  
 'A papaya fell on my head in the field.'

- Tripp (1976a: 9) also notes incorporation of other nouns, such as 'path' and 'house'
- Shape morphemes: e-po-sak (NMLZ-f.round-break) 'to break, e.g. of a pot' vs. e-pu-sak (NMLZ-f.bamboo-break) 'to break, e.g. of a glass' (more examples in Hart 1963), see also (39)

### 3.6 Aspect markers and directionals

- Suffixes of associated motion; express motion (and possibly path/trajectory) (cf. Koch 1984, Wilkins 1991)
- quite common in the Tacanan, Panoan and Arawaken languages of Bolivia (Guillaume 2010)
- parameters: orientation of the motion (GO/COME); location of verb stem event vis-à-vis target or source motion (move&do; do&move; do.while.moving), cf. (52) to (54)

(52) o'-chak-po o'-wadn-**ato**-me hak-yo  
 3SG(>3).IND-come-DEP 3SG(>3).IND-sit.down-**COME&DO**-REC.DIR.EVD house-LOC  
 'He came home and sat down in the doorway.'

(53) o-ma-mbasa-**atu**-ne yudnta  
 1PL.INCL(>3)-VPL-wash-**GO&DO**-IND clothes  
 'We went to wash clothes.' (for a short while)

(54) o-ket-**onyak** or-edn mba-yo  
 3SG(>3).IND-run-**DO.WHILE.COMING** 1PL-GEN residence-LOC  
 'he is running towards our house' (DO.WHILE.COMING/GOING)

- Aspectual markers, e.g. habitual (17), iterative (4), momentaneous (40), indications of the time of the day (67) (cf. Cavineña Guillaume 2008: 236-240)

(55) lh-wa-**nde**-y  
 1SG(>3)-go-NOW(?)-1.IND  
 'I am going already.'

### 3.7 Tense

- Harakmbut distinguishes between present (zero), future (-apo) (e.g. (1)), and several types of past tense, marked by suffixes on the finite verb, following aspect marking and preceding mood marking (cf. Tripp 1976a, *pace* Helberg 1984: 277, see Table 2)
- Within past domain (Table 6):
  - Distinction between recent past and distant past
  - Evidential distinction between witnessed (non-marked) and non-witnessed (marked by -(a)te suffixed to past tense markings -me/-uy, or by portmanteau -tuy)
  - Non-witnessed endings seem to be in complementary distribution with indicative mood suffixes (see Tripp 1976a: 18, 1995: 208), cf. (36), (56)

(56) lh-arak-tuy(\*-i) keme  
 1SG(<3).IND-kill-DIST.PST.INDIR.EVD tapir  
 'I killed a tapir without realizing it.'

Proposals	Parameters	Recent past	Distant past
Helberg (1984: 277-279)	'own experience'	-üi/-më'	-më'-te
	'not own experience'	-tui/-te	-üi-a'-te have.been-CAUS-PST
Tripp (1995: 222)	'visible location'	-me'	-uy/-uy
	'non-visible location'	-me'-te	-uy-ate/-uy-ate
AVL	witnessed	-me' (2), (3), (52)	-uy/-uy (19)
	non-witnessed	-me'-te (36)	-tuy/-uy-ate/-uy-ate (20), (56)

Table 6: Analysis of past tense marking





- (69) Kate a-we ö'-(ë)-üÿ  
anything say-NEG 3SG(>3).IND-be-DIST.PST.DIR.EVD  
'He didn't say anything.'
- (70) munëÿö ë-we ö'-ë-më e-arak  
girl be-NEG 3SG(>3).IND-be-REC.DIR.EVD NMLZ-hit;kill  
'The girl was not beaten.'
- (71) Puertoluz-yo chaway-we-ndik ö'-ë wa-ku-pa  
Puerto.Luz-LOC see-NEG-POT 3SG(>3).IND-be NMLZ-f.head-f.large.stick  
'You can't see the mountains from Puerto Luz.'

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## Abbreviations

1	1 <sup>st</sup> person	DEP	dependent verb	INDIR.EVD	indirect evidential	POSS	(external) possession
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person		form				
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	DIR.EVD	direct evidential	INS	instrumental	POT	potential
ABES	abessive	DIST.PST	distant past	INTF	intensifier	REAS	reason
ACC	accusative	DUB	dubitative	ITER	iterative	REC	recent past
AG.NMLZ	agent nominalizer	EXCL	exclusive	LOC	locative	SG	singular
		FUT	future	MOD	modality	SIM	simulative
APPL	applicative	GEN	genitive	MOM	momentaneous	SOC	sociative
APPL	applicative	HAB	habitual	NEG	negation	TRANS	transitivizer
BEN	beneficiary	IMP	imperative	NMLZ	nominalizer	VOC	vocative
CAUS	causative	INCL	inclusive	NOM	nominative	VPL	verbal plural
COM	comitative	IND	indicative	PL	plural		

Helberg (1984: 307-308)				Tripp (1976a)			
slot	category	markers finite verb forms	double occurrences	slot	category	markers finite verb forms	double occurrences
-9	person & mood	(i) generic/durative; (ii) neutral/perfective; (iii) possible/neutral		-9	person	(i) declarative, (ii) dubitative, (iii) imperative	
-8	specifier	N, proN, Num, Adv, Adj, fST, ProN+postP		-8	plural	ma/mä (plural participants)	
-7	verbal plural; benefactive; ...	nöng (another person); män/mön (plural participants); ning (beneficiary, Goal=person); mă/mba (verbal plural)		-7	benefactive	nīng (benefactive); ta (possessive)	
-6	direction/transitivizer; duration	ön/n (direction, directed action=transitivizer); ok/k (duration, limited duration, unlimited duration)		-6	position	ta/ta' (force against an object, 'behind', downward); ch(i) (spatial relation: on, to, through); to (accompaniment); k/ok (separation); n/on (spatial relation: in, inside, to); wa- (finding something or someone)	chi-ok; k-chi; n-ök; chī-ön
-5	applicative; sociative; spatial	ta (indirect complement, Goal=person, beneficiary); to (under, with oneself, with another person, on); ta' (on/to); ti/chi (extension, spatial action, transitiviser)	chi-to; ta'-chi; ta-to	-5	locatives; nominals; objects	(i) classifiers: ku (head, crown), öh (nose), pe (flat round surface), kong (hole, cavity) ... (ii) nominals, e.g. ndang (path), hak (house)	up to 4 classifiers
-4	direction/transitivizer; duration	ön/n (direction, directed action=transitivizer); ok/k (duration, limited duration, unlimited duration)	ön-ok; ok-ön	-4		<b>remark:</b> the elements in slots -6 and -5 can be used more than once	
-3	plural participants	wa (plural participants; participant = human H1984: 299)		-3			
-2	intensive (?)	wi/i (intensive action, does not concern the participant: well, fiercely, regularly, suddenly, H1984: 300)		-2			
-1	verbal plural; benefactive; ...	män (plural participants); ning (beneficiary, Goal=person); mă/mba (verbal plural)		-1			
0	verbal base	verbal base		0	verbal base		
1	verbal plural; benefactive; ...	nīng (Goal=person); mă/mba (verbal plural); to (under, with oneself, with another person, on); ön/n (direction); ok/k (duration); ti/chi (extension); köng (another person); yün (footprint)	chi-ok	1	aspect 1	he/ën (repeated action)	
2	causative, intentional	ya/a' (causative); ke'e' (intentional)	(k)e'-(y)a'	2	causation	a' (causative)	
3	negation, imperative, intensive aspect	we' (negation); 'än (imperative); 'ën (exhortative/limited duration); nde/dn ('already'); nda/a'nda/nä'nda/nä'nä'nda (intensive, degrees of intensity)	we'-dn; we'-nda; we'-nän'nda	3	aspect 2	en/ën (completed present); on/ön (intermediate aorist); an/än (punctual action); atu (momentaneous); wa' (duration); önwa' (long duration); önwawa' (very long duration); önyak/änyak (progressive); änkanyak (quick energetic action); äkanwa' (energetic action with duration); -yak (in the morning); awan (during the day); men (at night)	
4	tense	apo (future); ui/më (recent past, own experience); më-te (distant past, own experience); tui/te (recent past, non-witness experience); ui-a'-te (distant past, non-witness experience)		4	aspect 3	ay (action narrowly averted)	
5	aspect, modality, polarity, dependency	aspect: po (inchoative), ato (punctual), to (perfective), ön'në (action completed in passing by); modality: et (possible), ipot (probability, ability); polarity: we' (negation); dependency: po (participle), to-po (perfective + participle)		5	aspect 4	n(d)e/n(d)ë ('now'); ika' (habitual)	
6	person	i (1person)/në/zero		6	tense	apo (future); më' (recent past); 'uy (distant past)	
7	participants (post-tense markers)	nök (another); kën (participant=3rd P/'this way'); kën-chi (participant=3rd P); in-ë (with this); kön (another); chi-ön (reflexive, of something, of someone); chia (maybe, a bit); mö'hën (earlier); mbedn (at night); pën (side); pi' (a bit (limitation)); pa-pi' (whatever); chi (interrogative, H1990: 238)		7	evidential/epistemic	i/në/zero (visible location); te/ate (non-visible location); et (possible)	
	<b>Remarks:</b>	only 4 out of 7 pre-base slots can be filled; slots -6 and -4 are mutually exclusive; slots +1 and +3 are mutually exclusive; many of the +7 slot elements might be analysed as clitics, and thus are not part of the morphological template		8	frustrative/clause combining	nīng'a (frustrative); nok (causal link); -po (participle)	

Table 2: Morphological template of the Harakmbut finite verb